1: Gallin

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423

/For historical background on land tenure in Taiwan as it is indirectly related to the Taichung peasants, see category 116, pp. 88-90./

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

the main products. Rice growing played little part in the economy. The almost total lack of irrigation, presumably combined with a high mortality rate, prevented any rapid increase in population. There were not even enough people to exploit the land fully.

The present area of Hsin Hsing was at that time the site of only a few scattered households. The inhabitants were so few and so weak, and the bandits so many and so strong, that Hsin Hsing and eleven nearby villages formed a mutual protection association. When a village was attacked by bandits, it sounded large gongs as an alarm signal; the signal was relayed from village to village, and the able-bodied men rushed to the aid of the community under attack. The associated villages still maintain an informal organization today, though its function is now the production of a joint annual religious procession (which will be discussed in Chapter 8).

The coming of the Japanese to Taiwan had major repercussions not only for Lukang but for the Hsin Hsing village area generally. Once their rule was established on the island, the Japanese moved quickly to bring about law and order by suppressing the bandits. They eliminated the lawless element from the countryside and brought new security to the village people.

The Japanese also took in hand the extreme complexities of a tri-level land tenure system of landlords, tenants, and subtenants. (See details in Chapter 4.) In order to establish clear property rights and increase the efficiency of tax assessment and collection, the Japanese carried out extensive land surveys from about 1898. In 1905 the "Land Investigation Regulations" were promulgated; they resulted in a greatly simplified land tenure structure which included only landlords and tenants. This basic system is still in force today. Even in more recent years, although the Land Reform Program of the Chinese Nationalist government modified the internal content of the land tenure structure, its form has remained roughly the same.

At the same time, the Japanese gradually extended the irrigation system to serve much larger areas (see *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*)[4] as part of their effort to integrate the colonial area of Taiwan into the Japanese economy. The development of a major irrigation system enabled the agricultural population to expand its rice production greatly, and this rice ultimately became its major export to the Japanese homeland (Barclay, 1954b:18–42).[5]

The expansion of the irrigation system, accompanied by a greater emphasis on agriculture in the area, occurred at about the time that the main impact of the closing of the port of Lukang began to affect the villagers, who thus lost the opportunity to supplement their livelihood by working in the port. The increased irrigation meant that wet-rice could be planted profitably. Wet-rice production demands a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

greater labor force, and this absorbed the men who had formerly worked in Lukang.

The expanded area of land under cultivation increased the food supply and generally improved the standard of living. In addition, the Japanese introduced some Western public health ideas and new means for controlling disease. Apparently, these factors are closely related to the extensive population growth which then began to take place in Taiwan. The Japanese also improved the primitive communication systems of the area. A major program of electrification and improvement of rail and bus lines was instituted throughout the heavily populated areas of the island.

The material influence of the Japanese occupation and administration of Taiwan was enormous. Not only did Japan create in Taiwan an important element of its colonial empire but in so doing it indirectly began to produce important economic changes which had implications for the development of the rural areas and the island itself. While agriculture provided the major portion of Taiwan's exports to the home country, new, imported commodities also became readily available to the Taiwanese villager at low prices; many inexpensive canned foods became common in the village household. In spite of these changes, the world depression had apparently little effect in the Hsin Hsing area. In fact, few villagers were even aware that there was a world depression in 1929 and in the 1930's, which may be due to the almost total lack of industry in rural Taiwan or in Taiwan generally at that time.

The advent of the Japanese brought a higher standard of living for the Taiwanese people, but the improvements were offset by the war with China in 1937 and, more notably, by the entrance of the United States into the war in 1941. Japan had to muster all its own resources and those of its colonies, and good times soon turned into hard times for the Taiwanese farmer. At first, village men were lured off the land to work at high pay on Japanese construction projects, and others were conscripted to work in Japanese army labor gangs in both Taiwan and in Southeast Asia. Often families were left with only the women, children, and old men to work the land. The supply of artificial fertilizer which had been so important in developing intensive rice cultivation was almost completely cut off. The little food that could be produced under these difficult conditions was usually confiscated by the Japanese authorities to supplement the food supplies in Japan, and villagers were frequently reduced to a diet consisting mostly of sweet potatoes. The gratitude they had felt for the prewar accomplishments of the Japanese was offset by the severity of Japanese rule during the hard war years.

The defeat of the Japanese and the coming of the Chinese National-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

F 175 648 F 175 648 122 727 161 423 469 [178] [462] ists brought a change in regime to Taiwan. This is known as the "Restoration." At the outset the Taiwanese people welcomed the change, feeling that the coming of the Chinese represented a reunion with their own "race." With the advent of peace, there was a general return of men to the land. Only one Hsin Hsing villager had been killed in the war in Southeast Asia. The other villagers from Hsin Hsing who had surrendered or been taken as prisoners while working in Japanese labor groups were returned to Taiwan in ships. The return of these men to the land was followed by a general population increase, and in the Hsin Hsing area this quickly aggravated the problem of land scarcity; tenancy became a greater problem than ever before. Families could neither buy nor rent enough land to support themselves adequately, and, in addition, the war period had brought about a significant alteration in local patterns of division of labor. In the absence of the men the women had assumed new roles and responsibilities and had begun to take an active part in the operation of the land. This change was so well established that from about 1948 on it became possible for the men to work elsewhere for periods of varying length to supplement the family's farm income. This was the beginning of a new and ever-increasing trend of mobility to Taipei, a trend not confined to the Hsin Hsing area, although it may have begun there earlier than in most other parts of Taiwan. Some men hired out as farm laborers or worked as itinerant merchants in the area. But it is significant that local industrial development has been so slight that it has offered no economic alternatives to the villagers.

Tn 175 423 [648] [241] [434] Tn [161] After 1949, when the movement of the remnants of the Chinese Nationalist forces from the mainland to Taiwan was halted, the regime instituted a new policy of government rule and reform. The Land Reform Acts between 1949 and 1953 were the most important aspect of this policy. The Land Reform, the increased availability of fertilizer, the infusion of great quantities of economic aid from the United States, and the great increase of supplementary income from villagers working in Taipei have all contributed to an apparent rise in the Taiwanese farmer's standard of living. But the basic problem of population pressure and land scarcity continues to worsen, affecting both economic and social aspects of village life.

LANGUAGE AS AN INDICATION OF HISTORICAL SEQUENCE

Tn 197

In 1958 there were four main languages spoken in Taiwan: Japanese, Taiwanese, Mandarin, and Hakka. The latter three are usually referred to as dialects of Chinese, but since they are not mutually intelligible, they are actually different languages, and will be referred

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

words in Japanese, such as expressions to be used when entering the predominantly Japanese-manned police stations and other official places. Some uneducated men, however, learned a modicum of Japanese when they served in the Japanese army labor corps during the war period.

Under the Japanese the teaching of the Chinese written language as well as the traditional Chinese classical literature in the schools was illegal. However, village men tell about a Chinese school "secretly" conducted in a temple in Lukang even through the late 1930's. There children and teenagers were taught to read and write Chinese and to study the Chinese classics. Only a very limited number of people from Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages attended such schools, and there were few who attended the Chinese school who did not attend the Japanese primary schools as well.

In the Hsin Hsing area, then, except for the few Taiwanese who managed to attend secondary schools or colleges or who were laborers during the war, the number of persons able to read and speak Japanese (or read Chinese) was small. Grajdanzev, mostly on the basis of Japanese sources, noted that "after 1937 five and one half million Chinese (in Taiwan) could not read a newspaper in their own language, though most of them do not know Japanese" (1942:170). The effectiveness of the Japanese educational system for much of the population of the rural area has perhaps been exaggerated. Although the Japanese school system was greatly expanded between 1937 and 1945, it appears that it did not have time to develop any depth in its effect on the peasant.

Under the Nationalist government's theoretically "compulsory" education, almost all students and former students of the present school system can now speak some Mandarin, which is the only language used in the school after the first or second year. Some of the younger middle-aged men have developed a functional knowledge of simple Mandarin as a result of recent work contacts in Taipei or service in the Chinese army.

The language situation in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding rural area is as follows (for 1958): Very young children speak only Taiwanese (Min-nan) up through the first few years of school. Children in higher grades and young people up to the age of about twenty-six speak Mandarin with varying degrees of fluency in addition to their native Taiwanese. Their fluency depends upon the amount of schooling they have had, how long they have been out of school, and the amount of contact they have had with the language at work or in other special situations after leaving school.

Some men and a few women between twenty-four and forty-five speak some Japanese in addition to Taiwanese. The men learned it

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

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[423] [242] [167] [621] [628] [602] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income. This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see, especially later, that they have produced changes in social and political patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

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In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low, and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supplement their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

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For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

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There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

These clubs, which are very popular in Hsin Hsing, are similar to the clubs formerly found in many parts of mainland China (Fei, 1939:267–274) and in Japan (Embree, 1939:138–147). Loan clubs, usually with ten to fifteen members, are organized by a man or woman who is considered reliable and trustworthy and who needs a large sum of money for some special purpose such as building a new house, buying some land, or paying for engagement gifts or dowry. The members, enlisted by the organizer, are usually his relatives, friends, or neighbors or sometimes even acquaintances of any of the others. The members are generally people who are interested in being of help to the organizer in his financial need, but there are others who participate only because they hope to make a profit.

The operation of such a moneylending club is quite complex. By means of such a system a person in financial need is often able to obtain an interest-free loan which is to be paid off over a fairly long time—usually more than a year—in equal monthly installments.[8] If the amount involved is very large, such a club may use rice instead of money for the initial loan and for all payments. Under this system, all the payments are made twice a year, that is, after each rice harvest, over a period of years. For the most part, only rice growers participate in this latter transaction.

Generally speaking, then, the problem of farm credit has not yet been solved in the Hsin Hsing village area. A very large proportion of small farmers in financial need must still borrow money under the traditional high-interest systems. The problems of poor credit facilities, along with other financial burdens of the land, seem to be a factor in the increase in the number of families which are forced to find ways of supplementing farm income.

Agent for the Provincial Government's Food Bureau

It is only through the increased use of fertilizer that it is possible for the Taiwanese farmer to cultivate the land so much more intensively than before. In the middle and late 1930's Japanese chemical fertilizer and bean cake imported from Manchuria was used in Taiwan. Then, as now, the fertilizer was distributed for the government by the local Farmers' Associations. Under the Japanese, however, the villagers report, the system of distribution and payment for the fertilizer was quite different. Then, the farmer could easily obtain as much fertilizer and bean cake as he needed and desired so long as it was available. The cost of the fertilizer could be paid in cash (as could the land tax) after the sale of the rice harvest to a merchant. Now, payment for the fertilizer is only made in rice, partly before and partly after the harvest. Today, the government, operating through the provincial government's Food Bureau, has a monopoly on the importa-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

ing each tiny share of land separately in its owner's name at the Land Office, "It was decided that all plots of land under joint ownership would be classified under the names of all the joint owners, and not under the names of each owner separately" (T'ang, 1954:100). By this system, then, the land was recorded as joint land under the name of one person who acted as legal representative for all the joint owners. Even in Japanese times the government did not interfere in this system, and the representative was supposed to see to the regular payment of the farmland tax for all the joint owners.

TABLE 24

AREA OF PRIVATE LAND UNDER INDIVIDUAL, JOINT, AND CORPORATE OWNERSHIP IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

	Area in *chia* of cultivated land	Percent	Area in *chia* of house, land, and road	Percent	Total of each type of land area owned	Percent of total private land
Individual	11.1006	34.1	0.3946	1.2	11.4952	35.3
Joint	17.9196	55.1	2.0768	6.4	19.9964	61.5
Corporate	0.5365	1.6	0.5195	1.6	1.0560	3.2
Total	29.5567	90.9	2.9909	9.1	32.5476	100.0

Regarding the reasons for the existence for so much joint-ownership land in Taiwan, T'ang (1954:101–102) writes:

> The causes that have given rise to joint ownership are three; reclamation of land through common efforts in the early history of Taiwan; joint purchase of land; and inheritance of ancestral landed property by brothers. . . . The landowners themselves preferred joint to individual ownership in order to avoid the incidental troubles of subdivision, surveying, and the red tape of transfers. Under such circumstances, it frequently happened that a piece of land originally under individual ownership might come to be jointly owned when it was transferred or inherited; and that a piece of land originally under joint ownership might have a larger number of joint owners as time went on. The number of joint owners of a plot of land varies from three or five to scores or hundreds of persons. This state of affairs not only is a positive hindrance to cadastral management, but also obstructs land improvement and gives rise to innumerable disputes.

The forms that joint ownership take in Hsin Hsing seem to correlate with T'ang's explanation of the causes that have given rise to it. For example, most of the house land in Hsin Hsing is land jointly held among relatives. There are also instances in Hsin Hsing where the land is listed under the representative name of a Hsin Hsing villager, but the joint owners are farmers from neighboring villages as well as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

body against pressures from outside. It has, in addition, a much stronger basis for internal unity and cooperation. Thus, families which belong to such single-*tsu* villages gain a substantial amount of security from the situation.

While there are now few single-*tsu* villages, and apparently few fully active *tsu* organizations in the Hsin Hsing area, during late Ch'ing times and even into the early Japanese period there seem to have been many *tsu* groups with unity and power which were active. Most of the large *tsu* organizations were confined to individual villages, although some extended into several. At the earlier date, it appears that these organizations were either overseas sections of large mainland *tsu* or had at least been formed on the basis of their earlier ancestral affiliations in China (Barclay, 1954b:47). In the Hsin Hsing area these affiliations were probably reinforced by the relative ease and frequency of communication between the mainland and the nearby port of Lukang.

Hsin Hsing villagers still tell how these *tsu* organizations and single-*tsu* villages frequently took part in inter-*tsu* rivalry and fighting. Barclay (1954b:47) has noted how these groups (which he does not define, but refers to as "clans") engaged in "indiscriminate civil disorder" along the line of the cleavages and antagonisms brought over from the mainland. Older villagers say that during the late Ch'ing period there were few government officers in the rural area to control these *tsu* groups, and if an officer did appear, he could easily be bribed. With the advent of the Japanese, however, the situation rapidly changed. The Japanese police were not "polite" when a *tsu* organization "insulted or beat other villagers." If *tsu* members "did wrong," they were beaten by the Japanese who, unlike the Ch'ing dynasty officers, "could not be bribed." The *tsu* members feared the Japanese officers just as any ordinary villager did, and for this reason the *tsu* organizations were often reluctant to support members who got into trouble. As a result the *tsu* began to lose their unity and power: ten to twenty years after the Japanese had taken over the government of Taiwan, the activities of the *tsu* villages and organizations had significantly decreased in the Hsin Hsing area. As we have already seen in Chapter 2, the port of Lukang lost its importance as a channel of communication with the mainland soon after the Japanese arrived. As the movement of people between Taiwan and the mainland ceased, relations between the Taiwanese *tsu* and the paternal *tsu* on the mainland broke down. This was very likely another factor contributing to the weakening of Taiwanese *tsu* organizations after the Japanese occupation.

There are now few *tsu* organizations which are strong enough to be of major influence in the Hsin Hsing area as a whole, and only three of the approximately twenty-two villages are inhabited exclusively

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

deified because of her commendable deeds. Originally, she was the protectress of seafarers, and her statue was brought from the mainland by the earliest Chinese immigrants to Taiwan. However, over the years the residents of the Hsin Hsing area have endowed Matsu with considerably greater talents, and today she is considered capable of doing many things—curing the sick, aiding in the production of a boy child, bringing rain when it is needed, and even helping someone win the National Lottery. The villagers tell a story about a man from a village in the area who went to the Lukang Matsu temple and prayed for success in the lottery. When he did not win, he returned to the temple and with a sword lopped off one of Matsu's ears.

Middle-aged village woman often discuss seriously Matsu's magnificent feats. One day several women told "how, several years earlier, Matsu had saved some boys from drowning in the Strait of Formosa just off Lukang. When a sudden storm came up, the boys' boat sank and they were about to drown when Matsu came and saved them." The women debated the question of just how Matsu had accomplished this, one saying that the goddess had provided a bridge for them to get back to shore and another that the goddess had furnished another boat and pulled them ashore.

Numerous other Taiwanese also credit Matsu with enormous powers,[2] and each year many people from far-off villages and even cities travel to Lukang in long processions by hired trucks, bicycles, pedicabs, sedan chairs, and on foot to worship Matsu on her birthday. Some Hsin Hsing villagers also go to Lukang to worship Matsu on this day, but most worship her at home because they are too busy to travel to Lukang. However, Lukang is considered a very exciting place when it is filled with the tens of thousands of people who have come to worship Matsu, and many villagers, especially young people and women, go there in the evening to watch the festivities.

In addition to the recognition which is accorded Matsu on her birthday, for at least the last forty years Hsin Hsing and eleven other villages in the area have held a joint procession each year to worship Matsu some weeks after her birthday. About this time of the year, when the irrigation water is running low in the fields of Hsin Hsing and two neighboring villages of the other eleven, the occasion is taken to ask Matsu to bring much-needed rains for the rice crop. As far back as the late 1800's, these same twelve villages were allied together to provide mutual defense against the many bandits who then ravaged the area. While the necessity for such defense was eliminated soon after the arrival of the Japanese, the cooperative relationship between these villages has been continued through the annual Matsu procession. The Matsu procession, then, still provides an occasion which brings the people together, not only the residents of a single village, but those of many villages. In the Hsin Hsing area it is the only time

that one hears it mentioned in conversations in the village. At this time each year the hordes of "ghosts" imprisoned in the underworld are released for a month's holiday, and as a result parents feel it necessary to warn their children to stay away from the river. Their fear is that some hate-filled soul whose life was lost by drowning might attempt to obtain his own release from the underworld by seizing and drowning a child as a substitute.

Under the Japanese military administration which governed Taiwan from 1895 until 1903 the village of Hsiachichou was assigned to an administrative district with its headquarters in the town of Sanhsia. Later, after the military had been replaced by a civil administration Hsiachichou found itself a part of the Hsulin District with its district offices in the town of Hsulin. Forty years after this the return of a Chinese government brought about still another change in rural administration, and the village was designated a part of Panchiao Hsien with its administrative headquarters in the town of Panchiao. Partly because of this history, and partly because of a traditionally unresponsive attitude toward all forms of government, the political status of Hsiachichou has never been a significant aspect of the lives of village inhabitants. Instead, their orientation towards the outside world has always been in terms of the village's status as one of the five "areas" (lún) which make up the locally recognized district of Chichou. Although it has never been granted official status under any of the governments which have ruled Taiwan, the boundaries of Chichou are the boundaries which mark the line between the villagers' immediate

private world and the larger impersonal world of society at large. When a resident of Hsiachichou says that he is going "outside," he means that he is going beyond the limits of Chichou. In order to understand why this is so, and what it means for a person to think of himself as a resident of Chichou, we must know something of the history of this community.

According to the best information now available, the district of Chichou was originally settled in the mid-1770's by two brothers surnamed Ong. Leaving their native Fukien village in the Tungan District of Chuanchou, they migrated first to the area of Hsinchu in north central Taiwan, and then within several years moved again to settle on the banks of the Tamsui River. What life was like for these men and their early descendants is now difficult to discover, for the genealogical records which they left contain no more than the simple facts of marriage, birth, and death. Of one thing, however, we can be certain. The lives and the property of these early settlers were in constant danger. Unlike the native peoples of many parts of the world, the dispossessed aborigines of the area reacted to the incursions of their more powerful neighbors with a fierce resistance, and until as late as the 1920's forced many communities on the island to take protective measures. Further dangers for the early inhabitants of Chichou were the result of the constant internecine warfare among the various groups of Chinese settlers. The history of the Chinese settlement of the Taipei basin might well be written in terms of the conflicts between Chinese of various mainland origins. The formation of the city of Taipei, for

example, was the outcome of years of bloody fighting between settlers from Chuanchou and Changchou, the prize in this case being domination of the port facilities and trade with the mainland. To what extent the early residents of Chichou became involved in these struggles we cannot now say, but that they did become involved is almost certain. Again and again fighting which began in Taipei flared into major armed conflicts which rapidly spread over the countryside, often disturbing the peace of cities as far away as the southern end of the island. It is perhaps significant to note that it was not until the early 1920's that the first Changchou woman married into Hsiachichou and that even today she is stigmatized with the name Chang-ah. And finally, aside from the threat posed by the aborigines and the danger of war with other Chinese, the early settlers of Chichou were plagued with bandits. As late as 1870 the bandits of the Hsulin area were so powerful as to be able to resist all official interference. According to the missionary George MacKay, the subprefect and his retinue narrowly escaped death in this area in 1873, and at that time it was apparently not uncommon for the bandits of the area "to form a company and march into the town, singing boastfully, with a wild kind of yell ... 'You trust the mandarins; we trust the mountains.'"[1]

Considering these various external threats, it is not surprising that for a long time the early inhabitants of Chichou united to form a single corporate lineage, a fact we can infer from the existence of a

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1 George L. MacKay, From Far Formosa, (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1895), p. 160.

genealogy which records the names of their male children. Common membership in a corporate lineage probably served to remind the various families of the area of their common ancestry and joint responsibility, and lineage land holdings must have helped to insure the success of their cooperative efforts by providing the necessary element of self-interest. As the population of Chichou increased, however, this organization was weakened. What must have begun as small independent homesteads grew into villages; these quarreled with one another over the management of the lineage's joint land holdings; and as a result the original lineage fragmented into several independent organizations. At the same time a few families of other surnames began settling in Chichou. As early as the end of the 18th century a Tan family settled in the area of the district that is now Hsiachichou, and during the course of the 19th century families from the Ng and Lim villages on either side of Chichou established branches within its boundaries. These early incursions have been followed in the present century by an ever increasing influx of what the Ong families still refer to as "outsiders." The result of these two processes is that today the district of Chichou consists of five independent Ong lineages each of which occupies a community in which a third of their neighbors are families of another surname. The unity of Chichou is maintained by the Ong families' recognition of their common origin and former interdependence; the independence and individual identity of each of the five lún is achieved as a result of the fact that each is built around a core of closely related Ong families who comprise an independent lineage.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

114 not only be checked and checked again for their accuracy (as in any kind
12 of systematic inquiry), but must also be set out in such a manner as to be consistent with the duty of frankness that the student owes to his readers and the obligations of loyalty and friendship he bears to his subjects. Anthropology studies people intensively and decently, and I am sure that Mrs. Wolf has discharged her double duty in a way that will command the respect of the most experienced practitioners of the craft. The care and intensiveness of the observations are matched by the delicacy and sensitivity of their expression.

Sentimentality is the enemy of anthropology. To write with understanding of people whose institutions and beliefs are alien requires the anthropologist to make an effort to see them as they are and to portray them as he sees them. He must view them in the round and strive to penetrate the meaning of their behavior through the language they use. Because they are his fellow human beings the anthropologist has privileged access to them; but because they speak a different language and think with different symbols, he has to break the code of another culture. To make us the beneficiaries of his studies, he must translate the exotic idiom into a language we follow, but he must do his best to avoid distorting his findings in the process of translation. Mrs. Wolf's book is in elegant English, yet she is not acting as, so to say, a simultaneous translator, but rather as a creative interpreter. She has seized in this book on one segment of Chinese life, extracted its order and meaning, and made us the fortunate heirs of her understanding.

The Lims of this study are Taiwanese, and, except in her subtitle
114 and preface, Mrs. Wolf talks about Taiwan, not China in general. I
101 must respect her choice of terms, but I should not be doing my job competently if I failed to point out that we may sometimes be misled by her terminology. Two phases of modern history (accidents from our [175] present sociological viewpoint) may tempt us to think of Taiwan as a separate "country." From 1895 to 1945 it was governed by the Japanese; since 1949 it has been cut off by civil war from the mainland of China. But it is part of China, and nobody familiar with Chinese patterns of social organization and behavior will have any difficulty in recognizing [191] the Lims and their neighbors as good Chinese. True, their mother tongue is not Mandarin, but then they share this peculiarity with millions of Chinese on the mainland.

114 The point is worth stressing because there is a tendency to look upon studies made in Taiwan (and in the British colony of Hong Kong) as

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

chapter 2

THE VILLAGE

361 13 Passing out of the narrow lane into the open countryside is like passing through the gates of a walled city. The backs of the tall, windowless brick houses form a solid barrier between the noise of the town and the stillness of the country. The shouts of street hawkers and the loud inquiries of customers are softened to a murmur. The senses are now more impressed by what is seen than by what is heard. In the distance the mountains limit the eyes' sweep. Even the thick anarchy of ferns and trees and vines does not relieve their harsh, jagged lines. But, on a hot day, as the humidity builds up, the mountains recede, become vague and indistinct, the misty impressions of an old Chinese scroll. An uneven line of shrubs and trees, darker in color, more precise in outline, seems to be at the base of the mountains but actually is several miles closer, hugging the damp banks of the Tamsui River, sheltering the village of Peihotien. This area on which Tapu turns its back is known as Hotien.

* 596 601 173 613 175 Although there are now many surnames represented in Hotien, the district was originally settled by the Lim family. The Chinese record the births, marriages, and deaths of their male progeny in genealogies, thus providing a skeletal history of their lineage. To them, the important part of the document is the long family tree which traces their line of descent back through many centuries, but in most genealogies there is also a short essay describing the family's place of origin, the location of the clan temple that houses the memorial tablets of more distant ancestors, and perhaps even some sketches of the temple itself. 124 173 126 175 It is from a document of this kind and from rambling conversations with the elderly men and women of Peihotien that I obtained the

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

mythical-historical background of the Lim family with whom we lived.

As with nearly all of the ancestors of the Hokkien-speaking residents of Taiwan, the Lims' ancestors were born in the province of Fukien. Around 1770, two Lim brothers left their village in the Tungan district of Chuanchou and migrated to Taiwan, lured by the prospect of free virgin land. After looking around a bit, they settled along the Tamsui River and began to till the soil. Evidently they prospered, for their descendants were numerous. Every few years a member of the group went back to Chuanchou to pay their respects to the ancestors in the lineage temple in Fukien and to record in the family genealogy the recent deaths and births in Taiwan. The trip was not an easy one and after several generations the Taiwan branch of the family began to feel less closely allied to the family in their old home. At last a representative was sent to make a copy of the old genealogy in Chuanchou and bring it to Taiwan. From then on, only the names of the descendants of the two Lim brothers who migrated to Taiwan were entered in the genealogy. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Lims of Hotien were a strong and united group. Some of the family units were more successful than others, but even the landless families who worked as tenants under their more fortunate kinsmen shared in the profits from the portion of land owned jointly by all Lims. The proceeds from this corporate land were used to finance various activities, not the least of which was a huge feast at the annual meeting.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the lineage organization of the Lims began to disintegrate, splintering along the lines of the main family branches. Often the dissolution of large lineages such as the Lims follows disagreements over the management of the joint land holdings or suspicion of malfeasance in the disposition of their profits. Whatever the cause in the Lim family, the elders of the dissident branches once again copied the original genealogy and from that time forward entered only the names of the descendants of their own branch.

Just when and in what order these events took place in the district of Hotien is subject to question. The elderly, the men and women in their 70's, are the people who have both the time and the interest to speculate about the past. They share with all men the desire to tell the way it ought to have been rather than the way it was, to

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

simplify rather than to complicate. Often their interpretations are devised from half-remembered stories of their own aged parents and grandparents. According to the residents of Hotien, the district is comprised of four distinct areas. The most common explanation for these sections is that they reflect the settlement pattern of the five branches of the Lim lineage when it disintegrated, two of the branches living so close together that they formed a single section. This explanation has some validity. Although all are related, the Lims within each area are more closely related to each other than they are to the Lims in adjoining areas. The four sections are inhabited by clusters of kinsmen bound together by ties of common descent. In earlier years when the nearby hills still posed a threat of bandits, kinsmen collected together for mutual protection, but even now few families consider building at any great distance from their relatives. A family in need of additional living space usually adds to the old family home or builds a new structure next door. The bonds of kinship alone are enough to create a sense of community.

While the Lim clan was breaking apart, families of other surnames were moving into the areas, building homes on the edges of the Lim villages and buying land from Lim families who for one reason or another came upon bad times. The influx of other surnames occurred too late in the settlement of the Hotien area, however, for them to challenge the dominance of the Lims. An Ong family in Peihotien has lived there for nearly a hundred years, but they are nonetheless outsiders in a Lim village and still are referred to amusingly as "newcomers." A Chinese other than a Lim suffers from no discriminatory practices in Peihotien, but he always feels a certain uneasiness when he notes that about every third person his neighbor meets is a relative while he himself may not run across a single relation, regardless of how many trusted friends cross his path.

With each new colonial administration or reform movement on Taiwan the Hotien area has been divided and recombined into different administrative districts. It is not surprising that the residents of the area have come to ignore the official districts, accepting as inevitable that the office to which they went last year to pay their taxes will impatiently direct them elsewhere this year. Their religious organization and social affairs are conducted within the boundaries that have historical significance for some and permanence for all, the four areas that grew out of the division of the Lim descent group generations

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

ago. I doubt that the more recent arrivals in Peihotien are even aware of the origin of the cooperation between the four areas. Although it is apparent to the least observant that the area is dominated by Lims, the exclusiveness found in clan villages in mainland China does not exist here. The ties which connect the four villages of Hotien more closely to each other than to the surrounding villages are not questioned, nor are the rights and obligations of those within the district, regardless of surname. The temple in the center of Hotien is supported by all four areas and though the list of donors is dominated by the name Lim, it is in no sense a Lim temple. When it was Peihotien's turn to cleanse the gods of the temple by carrying them across a bed of hot coals, the carriers were not limited to Lims but to residents of Peihotien village.

In many ways this temple, the home of Shang Ti Kung, is a focal point for the district of Hotien. During my stay in the area the villagers spent a great deal of time and money in totally refurbishing the temple, and celebrated its completion in a three-day festival of rededication. Shang Ti Kung is responsible for the district of Hotien in much the same way as the Mandarins of old were responsible for particular districts. Once each year he is placed on a sedan chair and carried through the four sections of his district on a tour of inspection. The sound of cymbals and firecrackers punctuates his progress and along the way his subjects greet him with bows and incense, mingling prayers and offerings. During the rest of the year he stays in his temple where he is visited daily by villagers seeking advice and help. Shang Ti Kung can cure a sick pig, raise the price of rice, discipline an unmanageable daughter-in-law, make a barren woman fertile. He is not obliged to provide these services, but if approached with respect and handsomely bribed, he might.

While Shang Ti Kung influences the welfare of the entire district of Hotien, his underling, Tu Ti Kung, is associated with smaller areas, the villages. To one side of the main path into Peihotien there is a magnificent old tree, thick of trunk and limb. Beneath it is a small stone shrine, the home of Peihotien's Tu Ti Kung. Although he lacks Shang Ti Kung's influence in heaven, Tu Ti Kung is a valuable intermediary. He passes on complaints about local conditions and makes decisions about where and when new buildings may be constructed and old ones torn down. He is the scribe and recorder for the supernatural bureaucracy; to him the villagers must report each birth,

132 is about 184.4 (Nuttanson, 1963:130). In the winter, it rains more frequently, a little nearly every day and we often experienced two or three consecutive weeks without seeing the sun. Although the total quantity of rain is highest during the summer months, much of the summer rain falls during heavier rainstorms.

Historical Setting--Taiwan

101 The prehistory of Taiwan extends several centuries into the past. The base of origin and the cultural backgrounds of the various groups which migrated to Taiwan are matters of some dispute (Farrell, 1964; K. C. Chang, 1956). The remaining descendants of the early settlers now number about 200,000 and still live in the mountains where they are classified as aborigines (Cressey, 1964:174-5). The aborigines are usually classified into seven tribes or three language families. The languages are related to various Southeast Asian languages and aboriginal languages in Okinawa and the Philippines (Farrell, 1964).

175 The existence of Taiwan appears and disappears in the historical record of the Chinese empire. Meaningful settlement did not begin until the 12th century and large numbers emigrated only after the start of the 17th century (Hsieh, 1964:149). During the 15th and 16th century, Taiwan was the home base for Chinese and Japanese pirates who attacked shipping in the South China Sea. The Dutch, Portugese, and Spaniards vied for control of the island

• 175in the 17th century but have left little long term effects. A Ming general, Cheng Ch'eng-kung (Koxinga), fleeing the Manchus with his army wrested control from the Dutch and established an independent kingdom in 1661. The Chinese population of 100,000 grew rapidly during the next 200 years for Taiwan served both as a refuge and as a frontier area with undeveloped land attracting people from Fukien and Kwangtung. The island was incorporated as a fu (district) of Fukien in 1683 and as an independent province of China in 1886 (Davidson, 1903).

Its provincial status was short-lived for Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese war in 1895. Japan restricted further immigration into Taiwan from the Chinese Mainland and controlled the island until Restoration[2] to the Republic of China on October 25, 1945 (Hsieh, 1964:662-83). Under Japanese control there were great improvements in health, agriculture, transportation, and later, industrialization. In spite of many promotional efforts, Japanese immigration never reached high levels. After the Restoration, there was a short period of economic decline and subsequently, rapid advances in all the areas listed above. For example, between 1960 and 1966, the annual growth of the G.N.P. was at a rate of 9.7% while the cost of living remained relatively stable (Emery and Lee, 1967:808).

175 It is important to realize that Taiwan did not consist of vacant land to be settled by Chinese immigrants. It was occupied by the aforementioned aborigines who were hunters, gatherers, and swidden agriculturalists. As the Chinese settlers arrived they faced constant warfare as the aborigines were gradually pushed back into the mountains. The early history of many Chinese settlements on Taiwan is not unlike that of the American West with forts and raids and war parties while some bandits and renegades made accommodations with the aborigines. Pacification was still not complete as late as World War II.

Historical Setting--Sanlei Ts'un

127 The local history of the village naturally meshes
175 with the brief general picture described above.[3] It is based on family history books and the memories of elders. At points, it is confirmed by local gazetteers but much is uncertain and the dates which are listed must be considered approximations.[4]

175 Village history begins about 135 years ago (1830)
167 in a village in Fukien. Three family record books give the following address: Wu K'eng, Ch'i Pa Liu, San Chieh, Erh Tu, Chao An Hsien, Chang Chou Fu, Fukien. Three men were sent from this village to Taiwan to locate land for a large migration. There is no reason suggested for the move other than economic opportunity. We do know that

175 there had been a great deal of migration from the Chang
167 Chou region of Fukien to Taiwan over an extended period of time. The three men first came to the Wan Hua region of Taipei City and stayed with relatives while looking for land. They felt that most of the best and convenient land was already occupied for by the middle of the nineteenth century, migration had been heavy for a long period of time. How they discovered the Sanlei area is unknown. In any case, they wrote back to the village for people to
[351] come. Counting the three men, eighteen families settled in Sanlei, all but one surnamed Liao. The lone Yu was a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) who died without progeny. The economic condition of all eighteen was equal, quite poor. It appears that this was the second village to be settled in Talei Li, but all five villages were apparently established within a five year period. Moreover, the entire li was settled by people from the same area in
[726] Fukien. The early years were very hard for land had to be cleared and crops established while under the constant threat of attack by the aborigines living in the surround-
[712] ing mountains. Remnants of the bamboo-walled forts which surrounded each village can still be found slightly below ground level. The last villager was killed by aborigines as recently as 1920.

776 The migrants brought with them a statue of the god
778 Shih Fu Yang from their village in Fukien and he was

Efforts towards Japanization were maximized during World War II. Men were conscripted into labor battalions, some for short periods nearby and others were sent to conquered territories such as the Philippines. A small acid factory was built near the village during the war and just before the war ended, American planes strafed the factory and killed three water buffalo and two people. (It is interesting that the story of the attack was always repeated with the deaths of water buffalo listed first and the two children, a girl from Erhlei and a boy from Sanlei, listed last.)

When control was returned to the Chinese (referred to as the Restoration), villagers were excited and pleased. Unfortunately, a particularly harsh Governor, General Chen Yi, was appointed and his measures were extremely abusive. He was executed on June 16, 1950 for his "abuse of the Formosan people in 1946 and 1947" among a list of other reasons according to the government announcement (Kerr, 1965:396). The initial good will was soon dissipated. In spite of the arguments of the official government, the Taiwanese, those who were residents before the establishment of Japanese suzerainty, carefully distinguish themselves from those who came later, the "Mainlanders," as the latter distinguish themselves from the Taiwanese. The identification is permanent, i.e., the children of Mainlanders are Mainlanders even when born on Taiwan.

The amount of annual taxes varies considerably according to the classification and grade and various government land reform acts affected only certain categories of land. The most important and valuable kind of land is that classified as paddy field, most of it grade 12 or 13. The grade number assigned reflects productivity and consequently taxes, the higher the number, the lower the value. The current market price is $180,000.00 per chia, nearly $1,900.00 U.S. per acre.

As pointed out in the section on topography, Sanlei is in a narrow valley between two small mountain chains. The only paddy land is on the terraced steps which comprise the valley floor between the sharply rising foothills. Paddy land totals only 13.2920 chia (see Table 3), less than 32 acres. This is divided into 200 plots ranging in size from .0002 chia to .4716 chia. The mean size is .0665 chia (.16 acres), but this figure does not faithfully portray the real situation for the mean has been increased by a few larger plots. The median figure of .0350 (.08 acres) indicates that fifty per cent of the plots are less than half the mean. This extreme case of land fragmentation is partially due to a historical accident and partially due to the normal Chinese inheritance pattern.

As previously stated, Sanlei was founded around 1830 by 18 hu (households) from the same community in

311 Table 3. Sanlei Land Types and Distribution
*In chia (One chia equals 2.39 acres)

Land Category	Number of Plots	Median Size*	Mean Size*	Area Total*
Paddy	200	.0350	.0665	13.2920
Dry	124	.0435	.1698	21.0568
Woods	103	.1440	.2936	30.2435
House	61	.0185	.0228	1.5066
Burial	17	.0230	.1629	2.7685
Other	34	.0238	.0564	1.9188
			TOTAL	70.7862

175 Fukien. According to informants and confirmed by family
423 histories, the original land was improved and brought into
311 cultivation by the 18 hu acting as a corporate group. The
423 earliest settlement was a walled fort, frequently under attack by the aborigines who inhabited the nearby mountains. While some men worked in the fields, others were detailed as lookouts and guards. The lands were owned jointly and produce was shared communally. After a few short years (the exact date is uncertain), a decision was made to divide the land. There are suggestions that this was the original plan but there are also strong hints that the division process was one that caused considerable discord and may have been the outgrowth of a previous conflict. In any case, each large piece of land, by type and location, was divided into 18 equal plots, one for each household. The matching of household to plot was accomplished by withdrawing a slip of paper from a hat with chopsticks. Since there were several original large plots,